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Communist Propaganda

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 11, 1959

VIA LIAISON

Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

1678 RS/mg
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NLE 86-129

My dear Mr. Gray:

There is enclosed, as of possible interest, Copy No. 6 of the monograph entitled "Communist Propaganda in the United States."

This monograph is Part VIII of a series of monographs on communist propaganda in the United States from 1919 to date. This monograph is devoted to the key part that campaigns play in promoting communist agitation and propaganda, the nature and purpose of campaigns, how they originate, their characteristics, and the benefits the communist movement realizes from them.

Your attention is invited to the Summary and the Conclusions, which appear at the beginning of the monograph.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE, Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: Records, 1952-61
FBI SERIES
BOX 2, FBI C (1)

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NLE MR Case No. 86-129
Document No. 2

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

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PART VIII
CAMPAIGNS

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
IN THE
UNITED STATES

Part VIII

Campaigns

June, 1959

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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PREFACE

This monograph is the eighth in a series of comprehensive studies on communist propaganda in the United States from the founding of the Communist Party, USA, in 1919 to the present time.

This monograph is devoted in its entirety to the key part that campaigns play in promoting communist agitation and propaganda, the nature and purpose of campaigns, how they originate, their characteristics, and the benefits that the communist movement realizes from them. Some of the major communist campaigns of the past are mentioned; and four of the most celebrated campaigns waged by communists--Sacco-Vanzetti, Scottsboro, peace, and Rosenberg-Sobell--are presented in a detailed analysis.

The information contained in this monograph has been drawn from both public and confidential sources. Public sources are enumerated at the end of the monograph, while the confidential sources have been retained by this Bureau.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Campaigns are a concentrated, continuous, and concerted succession of agitation and propaganda activities specifically devised and timed to sway public opinion. All communist campaigns are intended to arouse, influence, and mobilize as many people as possible to further communist goals. Campaigns function as an outlet through which a great variety and volume of communist agitation and propaganda are funneled for maximum effectiveness. No other organization has ever engaged in so many diverse, intensive, and extensive campaigns conducted with so much perseverance, deftness, and potency as has the Communist Party, USA.

B. Conclusions

1. Throughout its history, the American communist movement has systematically, consistently, and constantly relied upon campaigns as a primary instrument of agitation and propaganda.
2. The Communist Party is never without a campaign of one type or another and during its existence has been responsible for an inestimable number of campaigns.

3. Communist campaigns are always instituted with the intent and the hope of publicizing them to magnify them into causes celebres thereby materially aiding the Communist Party's own political, financial, and propaganda fortunes.

4. Any local, national, or international issue or incident which can be exploited and propagandized in any way to communist advantage affords an opportunity for a campaign.

5. Campaigns are conceived and designed to nurture the illusion that communists are "champions of the people," concerned only with the welfare and "best interests" of the American public.

6. Communist campaigns capitalize on the emotions, sentiments, hopes, anxieties, and fears of the noncommunist masses, at the same time subtly injecting communist ideas into their minds.

7. American communists, aiming to foment and develop class antagonisms on which communism thrives, specialize in campaigns involving Negroes, workers, trade-unionists, and foreign born.

8. Communist campaigns originate in either of two ways: They are planned by communists from their inception, or they are initiated by noncommunists and eventually controlled by communists.

9. Most communist campaigns feature the formation of one or more front organizations that plan, direct, and coordinate the agitation and propaganda activities of the campaign.

10. In a communist campaign, every technique, device, vehicle, and channel of agitation and propaganda known to communists is employed to exploit a situation for the maximum propaganda benefit.

11. Campaigns provide the Communist Party a facade behind which it conducts demonstrations; distributes communist literature; collects funds; and performs all its other multifarious political, agitational, and propaganda activities.

12. Through the use of campaigns, communists have been able to arouse the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of Communist Party members, attract and enlist the support of sympathizers, secure new Party members, and exert influence over noncommunists.

13. By virtue of the countless campaigns which the Communist Party, USA, has conducted during the past 39 years, it has been able to promote the welfare of the Soviet Union and to promulgate communism.

I. NATURE AND PURPOSE OF COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNS

A. Objectives of Communist Campaigns

A communist campaign can be described as a concentrated, continuous, and concerted series of agitational and propaganda activities, designed and timed to create a cumulative effect and sufficiently dramatic to have an impact on public opinion. The purpose of a communist campaign is to reach, influence, and activate as many people as possible for desired communist ends.

Campaigns have always played an extremely vital role in the American communist movement. They have functioned as the very lifeblood of the Communist Party, providing a focal or rallying point for a large portion of all communist activity. Into campaigns, communists have poured prodigious amounts of their resources, manpower, time, and energy. No other organization has conducted so many diverse, intensive, and widespread campaigns, and waged them with such diligence, expertness, and effectiveness as has the Communist Party, USA, since it was founded in September, 1919.

Every campaign is carefully undertaken, planned, and executed to arouse, affect, and mobilize public opinion for the advancement of communist aims and objectives. Campaigns are intended to present communists as "champions of the masses" and to foster the illusion that communists are "progressive" and "humanitarian," acting only in the "best interests" of the American people. Communist campaigns play upon the emotions, sentiments, hopes, anxieties, and fears of the noncommunist masses, all the while insidiously implanting communist ideas into their minds.

Communist campaigns are conceived, designed, and conducted on the theory that if a number of people can be attracted, induced, and activated, a great many others can be similarly interested, stimulated, and mobilized. Such campaigns strive to develop mass pressure which will, in turn, generate mass activity and thereby "set people in motion." Through their multifarious agitation and propaganda activities, communists try to convince everyone that "thousands" or even "millions" of people demand the action they advocate and hence create a band-wagon effect.

Campaigns are generally woven around some specific issue, grievance, or alleged injustice which gives communists the greatest amount of publicity. Any local, national, or international issue or incident which can be exploited and propagandized in any way to communist advantage offers an opportunity for a campaign. Campaigns are always initiated with the anticipation of publicizing them to magnify them into causes celebres and thereby materially aiding the Party's own political, financial, and propaganda fortunes.

Paradoxically, communists prefer campaigns that do not promise to end in success, because such campaigns have maximum, immediate, and continuing propaganda value. Successful campaigns, on the other hand, lose all propaganda value as far as communists are concerned and soon become a dead issue.

Most campaigns are centered around individuals who are not communists. Communist campaigns on behalf of noncommunists are cynically inspired by purely selfish political and propaganda objectives rather than by any humanitarian motives. Despite the morality and sentimentality with which communists cloak their campaigns, the fact is that communists have little or no concern with the personal fate or welfare of the subjects of their campaigns. Their sole interest lies in exploiting these individuals to propagate communism.

American communists specialize in campaigns involving Negroes, workers, trade-unionists, and foreign-born persons, with the goal of fomenting and developing the class and racial antagonisms on which communism feeds. Negroes are considered to be particularly susceptible to communist propaganda, and the Communist Party is forever seeking some campaign which can be fashioned to enlist their sympathy, support, and involvement. This explains why so many communist campaigns revolve around Negroes who encounter legal difficulties or pertain to issues of primary interest to Negroes. One of the main reasons for communist campaigns dealing with Negroes is the unfortunate propaganda repercussions that allegations of discrimination and injustice in the United States can have abroad, especially in Africa and Asia.

B. Origin of Communist Campaigns

The Communist Party is never without a campaign of one kind or another. In every period of its 39-year history, the Communist Party, USA, has been engaged in one or more major campaigns at any given moment. In some periods, there has been a single, paramount, overriding campaign which has superseded and dwarfed all others. At other times, several important campaigns have been in progress simultaneously.

During its existence, the Communist Party in this country has been responsible for literally thousands of campaigns--major and minor, national and local, long and short. The importance, magnitude, intensity, and length of communist campaigns vary, ranging from a neighborhood campaign of several weeks' duration protesting the eviction of a poor family, to a national campaign with international ramifications lasting a number of years, such as the peace campaign which started in 1947 and continues unabated at the present time.

Communist campaigns originate in two ways. First, there are those campaigns which are planned as such by communists at their very beginning, as, for instance, the Rosenberg-Sobell campaign. Second, there are those campaigns in which communists collaborate with noncommunists in the beginning but ultimately, through manipulation and duplicity, take over. The Scottsboro campaign is a good illustration of a campaign which developed in the latter manner. Both of these campaigns will be discussed in detail in this monograph.

An example of a brief, but recurrent, type of campaign was that conducted several years ago by the Communist Party in New York City. The campaign had its inception in a fire in a Harlem tenement in which four persons perished. The Daily Worker* began by featuring photographs of the blaze and demanded that the district attorney inquire as to the cause of the fire.

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*The Daily Worker was an east coast communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

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Speaking at funeral services for the victims, Benjamin J. Davis, then a New York City councilman and member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, pledged the Communist Party's "untiring efforts" to rid Harlem of similar disasters. Later, he urged the city council to investigate the fire-fighting needs of Harlem. A communist front proceeded to raise funds for the survivors of the victims. The Communist Party blamed the fire on "greedy landlords" and "neglectful city and state authorities," and made numerous demands for fire control improvements in that area. For several weeks thereafter, as part of this campaign, the Daily Worker continued to publish photographs and articles depicting the squalor in Harlem tenements and the fire hazards they presented. (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)

C. Characteristics of Communist Campaigns

An outstanding feature of most communist campaigns is the creation of one or more front organizations to plan, direct, and coordinate the agitation and propaganda activities of the campaign. Ordinarily only one main front is established, but occasionally a number will be formed, as was true in the communist peace campaign which was initiated immediately after World War II, when a myriad of front groups sprang up to promote this campaign. Communist fronts established during a specific campaign go out of existence when the campaign is terminated.

In their campaigns, communist propagandists make a point to secure the endorsement or support of as many clergymen, educators, doctors, lawyers, scientists, artists, and other prominent personalities as possible. Although some of these individuals are communists or communist sympathizers, many well-known noncommunists, prompted principally by idealistic and humanitarian motives, are persuaded to sign open letters, issue statements, and subscribe to various petitions and appeals in connection with communist campaigns.

Large-scale communist campaigns aim their propaganda at all possible target groups--labor, immigrants, Negroes, intellectuals, youth, women, et cetera--and make complete and skillful utilization of every weapon to be found in the communist propaganda armory. All the techniques, devices, vehicles, and channels of agitation and propaganda which communists have developed, tested, and sharpened over the years are employed. These include the use of such techniques as slogans, half-truths, distortion of facts, lies, smears, insinuations, ridicule, emotional appeals, and martyrdom; the use of numerous forms of demonstrations--mass meetings, parades, marches,

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delegations, and picket lines; the use of various types of communications addressed to public officials--letters, post cards, telegrams, and petitions; the distribution of all kinds of literature--leaflets, pamphlets, books, and posters; and the use of such vehicles as art, motion pictures, plays, radio, television, and phonograph records.

The intensity and concentration with which communists run their short campaigns was illustrated in the 1957 election campaign of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Flynn, who is a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, was a candidate for the New York City council on the ticket of the People's Rights Party, * a communist front organization. The campaign lasted three months. During the course of the campaign, about 30,000 persons were directly canvassed; over 4,000 signatures were collected to put Flynn on the ballot; 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed; 30 open-air rallies were held; and three radio broadcasts were made.(7)

Distinctly characteristic of communist campaigns involving court cases are the various stages of exploitation. In the arrest and trial stages, a hue and cry is raised that the "victim" is "innocent," that he has been "framed" on "trumped-up" charges and evidence, or that he is the "victim of hysteria."

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*See Appendix for citation.

A verdict of guilt usually serves communist propaganda purposes better than an acquittal. During appeals, sentencing, and imprisonment, the way is opened for demanding clemency by means of all types of theatrical demonstrations at which communists are so adept--huge outdoor rallies, picket lines, "vigils," and "prayer meetings"; "sojourns," "pilgrimages," and motorcades to Washington, D. C., or to state capitals; and delegations, petitions, letters, and telegrams to legislators, governors, the President, and other public officials. During the prisoner's incarceration, the communist press publishes greetings on his or her birthday and at Christmastime, reminding its readers to send cards.

If the death sentence is decreed, the time approaching execution is packed with frantic last-minute legal appeals and riotous demonstrations in the United States and frequently abroad. Even from death, communists are able to extract propaganda by promptly elevating the deceased to martyrdom. Customarily, the deceased will be commemorated by annual memorial services and immortalized in the communist press. As we shall see shortly, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro boys, and the Rosenbergs have been made legends, their memories hallowed by the Communist Party.

D. Benefits to Communist Movement from Campaigns

Campaigns have proved extremely profitable to the American communist movement. Among Communist Party members, campaigns have been instrumental in rousing enthusiasm, confidence, and fighting spirit, thus serving to harden them for the never-ending class struggle. Moreover, campaigns have afforded members valuable political, organizational, administrative, and propaganda training and experience which have greatly assisted some to climb the ladder of communist leadership.

The proficient, consistent, and extensive use of campaigns has provided the Communist Party with a screen behind which it has conducted demonstrations, distributed communist literature, collected money, and performed all its other diverse political, agitation, and propaganda activities. By means of campaigns, the Communist Party has promulgated its principles, program, and policies among the American people, thereby enabling it to mobilize sympathizers and to gain new recruits for the Party.

All in all, campaigns have afforded an ideal vehicle by which the Communist Party, USA, has disseminated an incalculable amount of communist propaganda directed toward its goal of furthering communism, undermining the capitalist system and the United States Government, and advancing the interests of the Soviet Union.

II. OUTSTANDING COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNS

A. Major Communist Campaigns of Past

A number of prominent campaigns have been waged during the history of the organized communist movement in the United States. Most of these campaigns have involved individuals, especially Negroes who have run afoul of the law.

One of the first big communist campaigns was that regarding Tom Mooney, a labor organizer, who was convicted for complicity in a bomb explosion which killed eleven persons during the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in 1916. Communists, along with members of several other organizations, launched a lengthy and spirited campaign in his defense. Mooney was given a death sentence which was subsequently commuted to life imprisonment. He was finally pardoned in 1939 and died several years later. Until his death--and ever since--communists repeatedly charged that Mooney was "framed."(8)

In the 1920's, the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the defense of several scores of communist leaders who had been arrested in Michigan for violation of a state statute resulted in full-scale communist campaigns.(9) Nicola

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Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian immigrants, had been convicted of murder in Massachusetts.

Many important campaigns were engaged in by the Communist Party, USA, during the 1930's, the principal ones being the following: the nationwide demonstrations of the unemployed during the Depression; the defense of the Scottsboro boys, the name given to nine Negro youths who were convicted of rape in Scottsboro, Alabama; the defense of Angelo Herndon, a young Negro who was jailed for distributing communist literature in Atlanta, Georgia; and the world-wide communist "united fronts" against war, fascism, and imperialism. (10)

In the early 1940's, there were two noteworthy communist campaigns. One was pointed toward securing a pardon for Earl Browder, at that time general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, who was imprisoned for a passport violation. The other centered around insistent communist demands for Anglo-American forces to open a second front in Western Europe early in World War II in order to relieve pressure against Russian troops in the east. (11)

In the immediate postwar period, American communists began participating in the massive peace propaganda campaign inaugurated by the international communist movement. The peace campaign has persisted to this day.

Other significant communist campaigns since the end of the War have highlighted the following individuals and issues: the attacks on anti-communist legislation and the Federal Government's security program; the defense of the "Hollywood Ten," the name given to ten "progressive" motion-picture writers and directors who were jailed for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; the defense of the eleven officials of the Communist Party, USA, who were tried and convicted in the famous Smith Act* trial in New York City in 1949, and the subsequent efforts to secure amnesty for them; the defense of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, who were found guilty of committing espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union; the defense of the "Martinsville Seven," the name applied to seven Negroes who were executed in Virginia for rape; the defense of Willie McGee, a Mississippi Negro who was given the death sentence for rape; and the defense of the "Trenton Six," six Negroes who were tried for murder in Trenton, New Jersey. (12)

A new communist campaign appears to be developing around the lynching of Mack Charles Parker, a 23-year-old Negro of

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*The Smith Act, which was passed by Congress in 1940, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing the United States Government by force or violence.

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Poplarville, Mississippi, in April, 1959, for the alleged rape of a white woman. Noncommunist organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, are actively publicizing the circumstances surrounding the youth's kidnaping and murder. The Communist Party can be expected to capitalize on this crime and endeavor to reap a propaganda windfall by injecting itself into the campaign.(13)

In the following pages, we shall examine in detail four memorable campaigns (in which communists played a predominant or leading part) that have occurred in the 39 years the Communist Party has been in existence in the United States. Each campaign has been the principal campaign of the decade in which it originated--the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign in the 1920's, the Scottsboro campaign in the 1930's, the peace campaign in the 1940's, and the Rosenberg-Sobell campaign in the 1950's. Each campaign has been characterized by its magnitude, intensity, and duration. Each is a classic example of a communist campaign in which every technique, every device, every medium, and every means of propaganda known to communists has been employed to exploit a situation for the maximum propaganda benefit. In the aggregate, these campaigns present a graphic picture of the communist propaganda machine in operation over the years.

B. Four Celebrated Communist Campaigns

1. Sacco-Vanzetti Campaign

Few campaigns have been more celebrated or have had greater reverberations than the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Its echo has been heard in such distant places as Moscow and Bombay, in London and Rio de Janeiro. Throughout the world, partisans of all political shades and tints have evinced in this case a great interest that has endured to this day. Not only did communists and other extremists who sympathized with the defendants rush to their defense, but many liberals and conservatives voiced grave misgivings that the defendants were unjustly convicted because of their political views.

The episode which touched off this campaign was the $16,000 payroll robbery of a shoe factory in South Braintree, Massachusetts, in April, 1920, in the course of which a paymaster and his guard were killed by the bandits. Subsequently, Nicola Sacco, a shoeworker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were arrested and charged with the crime. Both were Italians who had immigrated to the United States some years before and both were admitted anarchists and pacifists.(14)

Sacco and Vanzetti were brought to trial a year later and found guilty in July, 1921. Thereafter, every conceivable effort was made by the defense to reverse the verdict. Motion after motion was made for a new trial, and appeal followed appeal, all of them unsuccessful. Finally, in April, 1927, seven years after the crime, the presiding trial judge sentenced the pair to death.

Even then, the defense did not relax its efforts to secure the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. An appeal was made to the Governor of Massachusetts, who appointed an advisory committee of three to review the trial. Both the Governor and the committee concluded that the trial had been fairly conducted and that the prisoners had been rightfully convicted. The defense then turned to the Federal courts, but the United States Supreme Court refused to pass on the case. On August 22, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti, still pleading innocence, were executed. (15)

The arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1920 and their subsequent conviction caused a stir among anarchists, syndicalists, socialists, communists, and radicals of every hue. It was claimed that Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in the wake of the "wartime hysteria" against foreigners, culminating in the so-called "Red raids" of Attorney General

A. Mitchell Palmer in 1919-1920 in which several thousand undesirable aliens were rounded up for deportation hearings.(16)

The cry was also raised that Sacco and Vanzetti were "persecuted" because of their "radical beliefs" and not on the basis of the "ridiculous" charges of robbery and murder; that they were the "victims" of the "frame-up system" which is a "recognized part" of American institutions. This system, it was alleged, "picks out workers and imprisons or murders them by a false arrest, a spurious charge, a packed jury, a prejudiced judge, perjured witnesses and the rest of the hateful paraphernalia."(17) The Sacco-Vanzetti case was linked with the "frame-up" of Alfred Dreyfus in France at the turn of the century and that of Tom Mooney in San Francisco during World War I.

Shortly after the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, their friends organized the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee (SVDC), the moving spirit behind it being an anarchist named Aldino Felicani. The SVDC obtained the services of Fred H. Moore, a California attorney, who assumed charge of the legal defense.

The SVDC instituted a series of public protest meetings throughout the country and secured a number of radicals as speakers. One of these was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is now a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA.

Meanwhile, the Workers Party of America, by which name the Communist Party in the United States was then known, began to inject itself into the campaign. (18) On the international scene, the Comintern* issued appeals for working-class solidarity in connection with the case, which were quickly translated into mass demonstrations all over the world. (19) Scores of mass meetings were held throughout the United States, with the labor and radical press helping to push the campaign. Through the labor and revolutionary press of foreign countries, the case soon became an international issue. (20)

Abroad, in October, 1921, communists howled against "capitalist injustice." A series of demonstrations and several mysterious bomb explosions in Europe and Latin America made the American press and public aware of the case. Early in October, thousands of workers marched upon the American Embassy in Rome, demanding justice for Sacco and Vanzetti. The parade was disrupted by police, and about 100 of its leaders were arrested. Shortly thereafter, a bomb exploded at the American Embassy in Paris, but

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*The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was commonly called, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. Admission to the Comintern was contingent upon the acceptance of 21 conditions. The Communist Party in the United States became an affiliate in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" and unity between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to at the present time by the Communist Party, USA.

Ambassador Myron T. Herrick escaped unscathed. Another bomb was intercepted at the American consulate in Lisbon.(21) A crowd threatened the life of the American consul at Tampico, Mexico.(22) A general strike was called in Montevideo, Uruguay, in protest.(23) Demonstrations took place in Brussels and Marseilles, Moscow and Genoa, Amsterdam and Buenos Aires, on every continent and in almost every country.(24)

It was during the height of the Sacco-Vanzetti case that a notorious communist defense front organization called the International Labor Defense (ILD)* was established. The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign was to be but the first of many campaigns in which the ILD was to engage during the 20 years of its existence. The ILD was the American section of the International Red Aid (IRA), ** an international communist front with headquarters in Moscow and with affiliates in numerous foreign countries all over the world. In the ranks of the ILD were communists, socialists, anarchists, and "Wobblies." ***(25)

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*See Appendix for citation.

**The International Red Aid was organized in the Soviet Union in 1922 as an international defense and relief agency with affiliates in over 70 countries.

***Nickname given to members of the Industrial Workers of the World. See Appendix for citation.

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The ILD became increasingly critical of the SVDC for its refusal to participate in mass protest demonstrations and for its failure to see the case as part of the "international class struggle." The ILD began organizing its own Sacco-Vanzetti defense committees and conferences all over the country for the purpose of agitating and propagandizing the case.(26)

The IRA, through its various sections, such as the International Class War Prisoners' Aid Committee in England and the Rote Hilfe Deutschland in Germany, formed action committees to organize protest meetings and demonstrations and to solicit messages of protest and appeals from famous statesmen, scientists, literary figures, and others. Some of those who responded were George Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, H. G. Wells, and John Galsworthy.(27) (28)

The denial of a new trial by the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in May, 1926, was the occasion for renewed international demonstrations in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. Labor organizations and radical groups in Europe and America raised cries of protest against the decision.(29) The United States Embassy in Buenos Aires and the United States Legation in Montevideo were the scenes of bomb explosions, both ascribed to Sacco and Vanzetti sympathizers.(30) Groups of communists demonstrated in front of the

American Embassy in Mexico City shouting "Down with Americans!" and demanding the release of Sacco and Vanzetti.(31)

A communist deputy in the Italian Chamber of Deputies called upon the Mussolini Government to send a protest to Washington to bring about the release of the prisoners.(32) Ten thousand workers marched in Paris, and Ambassador Herrick was threatened with death by terrorists if Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.(33) (34)

The German Federation of Trade Unions and a group of celebrities, including Albert Einstein, the theoretical physicist, and Fritz Kreisler, the violinist, wrote the Governor of Massachusetts requesting a new trial. The general council of the British Trades Union Congress and the national council of the British Labor Party likewise voiced their protests. In France, such famous literary personalities as Romain Rolland, Anatole France, and Henri Barbusse actively supported the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.(35)

Various labor unions, workers' organizations, and outstanding people in this country were busy raising money to carry on the legal fight. Chief among these were Alice Stone Blackwell, woman-suffragist; Henry L. Mencken, author and critic; Eugene V. Debs, socialist leader; and Upton Sinclair, novelist. The American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies Garment

Workers Union, and many local trade-union groups went on record for a new trial.(36)

Early in April, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced to die. The organ of the French Communist Party, L'Humanite, carried a cryptic threat to the effect that "the workers and peasants will know how to revenge themselves if Sacco and Vanzetti finally are executed." This prompted French police to take further precautions to guard Ambassador Herrick and United States Government buildings in Paris from attack.(37)

Clemency appeals poured in on the Governor of Massachusetts from all parts of the world. Twenty-one members of the British Parliament cabled a demand that Sacco and Vanzetti be freed. Several labor and socialist organizations in Germany and Switzerland sent similar cablegrams.(38) The International Red Aid in Moscow made an appeal to the workers and the intelligentsia of the world to express their sentiments.(39)

As the day fixed for the execution approached, agitation and propaganda in favor of some sort of clemency gathered force and violence in widely separated parts of the globe. Mass meetings and parades were held; strikes were fomented; resolutions were adopted; appeals were made to American diplomatic representatives abroad; and cables were sent to President Calvin Coolidge and the Governor of Massachusetts.(40) (41)

Strikes and demonstrations took place in New York City. In a riot at the City Hall, police were compelled to use their clubs to disperse the crowd. Sacco and Vanzetti sympathizers were suspected of the bombing of two subway stations in New York City, a church in Philadelphia, and the home of the Mayor of Baltimore. Police broke up a meeting of Sacco-Vanzetti supporters on Boston Common. Chicago demonstrators were scattered by police with tear gas and riot guns. Silk workers struck in Paterson, New Jersey, and sporadic strikes of miners occurred in Colorado and Pennsylvania. (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) The *Daily Worker* called for more strikes and demonstrations over the country. (47) (48)

In Geneva, Switzerland, one person was killed and 25 were injured as a mob stormed shops containing American goods and motion-picture theaters showing American films. (49) In Paris, 30,000 workers followed Vanzetti's sister Luiga in a parade. (50) There were demonstrations before American diplomatic establishments in Munich, Cherbourg, Copenhagen, and Berlin. (51) (52) Delegations carrying resolutions called upon American diplomatic representatives in Bucharest, Vienna, Stockholm, Lisbon, Madrid, Ottawa, Tokyo, and Cape Town. (53)

Thousands gathered day after day in London's Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, carrying red banners and singing the "Internationale," the communist battle hymn. A gruesome replica of the electric chair was put on display by the demonstrators, and throngs watched a mock execution. (54) (55)

General strikes were called in cities in Argentina, Uruguay, and Mexico. Meetings were held throughout the Soviet Union. Besides mass demonstrations all over the world, messages pleading or demanding that the scheduled electrocution be halted came from labor leaders, government officials, literary figures, journalists, scientists, and philosophers everywhere. (56) In Italy, Michele Sacco, father of Nicola Sacco, sent a telegram to Premier Benito Mussolini imploring him to intervene to save his son's life. (57)

The agitation and propaganda campaign reached crescendo proportions with the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti on August 22, 1927. Strikes occurred in New York City; Boston; Philadelphia; Rochester, New York; Youngstown, Ohio; and numerous other cities in this country. A general strike was declared in Stockholm. Seamen's and other unions in Sydney, Australia, walked out, and anti-American boycotts were invoked in some South American cities. (58)

The day following the execution, the Daily Worker, in a banner headline, screamed "Sacco and Vanzetti MURDERED!" The accompanying story stated that "two leaders of the workers have been murdered by the capitalist class of America--murdered as a sign of the contempt and hatred and fear which the capitalist class feels for the working class." Photographs of Sacco and Vanzetti were outlined in heavy black borders.(59)

The Soviet press termed the execution a "class murder carried out in cold blood." The Red International of Labor Unions* issued a manifesto deploring the "sacrifice" of Sacco and Vanzetti on the "altar of the American bourgeoisie." Mass meetings occurred in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Kharkov.(60)

Wild demonstrations broke out all over the world. More than 200 persons were arrested in New York City, and hundreds were injured by police clubs or by missiles thrown by rioters. Many shops in the city were broken into and sacked.(61) Communists rioted in Paris, Nancy, and Lyons.(62) The American consulate at Cherbourg was the object of a furious attack by a mob. Dock workers in Marseilles refused to unload an American freighter.(63)

*The Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern, was a subsidiary of the Comintern that specialized in labor affairs.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Memorial meetings were held in various parts of England. Demonstrations took place in Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Lisbon, and Sydney.(64) Communist members of the city council of Buenos Aires urged that the names of New York Street and United States Street in Buenos Aires be changed to Sacco Street and Vanzetti Street.(65)

On the day of the funeral, August 28, 1927, the Comintern issued an appeal for communists everywhere to make it a day of mobilization in the "struggle against bourgeoisie injustice," while similar appeals were voiced by other international communist front organizations.(66) In Boston, 7,000 marched in the funeral procession for Sacco and Vanzetti in spite of a dismal rain.(67) The following day, 10,000 attended a memorial meeting in Union Square in New York City and sang the "Internationale." Death masks of the two victims were exhibited, although their ashes did not arrive as expected.(68)

In August, 1928, on the first anniversary of the death of Sacco and Vanzetti, the ILD conducted a memorial service in New York City's Union Square. The meeting was attended by 3,000 persons.(69)

After 1929, the Sacco-Vanzetti case was no longer a self-containing action and its dynamic force had largely run its course. The final act of violence came in September, 1932, when an explosion wrecked the garage and part of the residence of Webster Thayer, the judge who had presided at the original trial.(70)

In the succeeding years, communists have never ceased to remember and revive the case in an effort to show that Sacco and Vanzetti were the victims of a monstrous "frame-up." In November, 1956, for instance, the Daily Worker declared that the National Broadcasting Company had rejected a television version of James Thurber's play, "The Male Animal," allegedly because the play's leading character, a college professor of English, reads one of Vanzetti's letters to his class as an example of great literature. The Daily Worker complained that, of course, it could not be indicated on television that Sacco and Vanzetti were "framed." (71)

In August, 1958, 31 years after their execution, The Worker* observed that this case still lives because Sacco and Vanzetti are (1) "symbols of innocence in the grip of a murderous legal machine"; (2) "symbols of the suffering foreign born workers" who were "kicked around" by Anglo-Saxons; and (3) "symbols of the embattled workingclass" to the masses of the world. (72)

The Sacco-Vanzetti case has had a considerable impact on American literature, for a large number of literary works have been written about it. No less than eight novels have drawn heavily on Sacco-Vanzetti material. Several plays have dealt with the case, some by way of allusion and others

*The Worker is an east coast communist weekly newspaper.

at full length. Nearly 150 poems have been written, as well as a series of radio plays. Numerous literary celebrities have expressed themselves in one way or another on the case.(73) (74)

The Sacco-Vanzetti case was the first example of a campaign in which communists abroad exploited an issue to fan resentment against and hostility toward the United States. The communist movement has succeeded in making martyrs of Sacco and Vanzetti. For years, American communists have valued this case as a potent propaganda vehicle of their thesis that no capitalist society can afford to dispense justice to its opponents in the class struggle.(75)

2. Scottsboro Campaign

The Scottsboro campaign grew out of the arrest and jailing in Scottsboro, Alabama, of nine Negro youths for the alleged rape of two young white women on a freight train in March, 1931. The defendants, who henceforth were to become known as the Scottsboro boys, were Charlie Weems, Clarence Norris, Haywood Patterson, Andy Wright, Roy Wright, Willie Roberson, Olen Montgomery, Ozie Powell, and Eugene Williams. They ranged in age from 13 to 20 years. The alleged victims were Ruby Bates, 17, and Victoria Price, 21. A quick trial ended on April 9, 1931, in death sentences for eight and life imprisonment for the ninth, Roy Wright, because he was only 13 years old.(76) (77)

This speedy verdict marked the beginning of a case that was to be fought back and forth in the courts for years and was destined to become a *cause celebre*. There were appeals, reversals, and retrials. Twice, the United States Supreme Court reversed decisions of the Alabama courts. Once, the Alabama court reversed its own decision. In July, 1937, the State of Alabama admitted that the rape charges were doubtful insofar as four of the defendants were concerned and released them on the condition that they leave Alabama. The case did not come to a close until Andy Wright--the last of the defendants to remain in prison--was released on parole on June 6, 1950.(78) (79)

The arrests received only routine and scant attention in the press. The International Labor Defense read of the arrests and dispatched representatives to Scottsboro to follow the case.(80) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) received word of the case and sent one of its officials as an observer.(81)

During the trial, the ILD sent telegrams to the Governor of Alabama and to the presiding trial judge. The telegram to the trial judge protested that the trial was an attempt to "legally lynch" nine young Negro workers on "frameup rape charges" and added that the judge would be held "personally responsible" unless the defendants were released forthwith. A few hours after the sentencing on April 9, the ILD again wired the Governor of Alabama, demanding a stay of execution, and sent its chief counsel from New York City to Scottsboro to interview the defendants. (82) (83) By the end of the trial, the ILD and the NAACP were engaged in irreconcilable conflict as to the manner of handling the case.

The approach of the NAACP and the ILD to the Scottsboro case offers a revealing study in the contrasting purposes and methods of a noncommunist organization and a communist front. The sole object of the NAACP was the defense of the individuals involved. The NAACP sought to achieve this by providing capable legal talent and stirring up public opinion on behalf of the defendants. From the outset, the NAACP deplored communist activity in the case, maintaining that communists were harming the defendants more than helping them. (84) (85) (86)

The ILD, on the other hand, was concerned primarily with making the Scottsboro boys martyrs in the class struggle, even though the defendants had not the slightest conception of communism or any interest in it. To the ILD, communist propaganda was inevitably entwined with legal defense.

ILD spokesmen claimed to be the only true defenders of the rights of Negroes. Communists dubbed the NAACP a "bourgeois" organization and did not hesitate to hint that it was in league with the capitalist class to send the defendants to their doom.(87) The chief attorney for the NAACP, a white southerner, was accused by communists, after the trial, of being a member of the Ku Klux Klan and was charged with having conspired with the prosecution to send the boys to the electric chair.(88)

On April 10, 1931, the Communist Party, USA, in a statement, signaled the simultaneous launching of a propaganda campaign and a bitter attack on the NAACP. The Party called upon all working-class and Negro organizations to adopt strong resolutions of protest, to wire these to the Governor of Alabama, and to organize militant mass demonstrations. The Party claimed that the "middle class reformists" who led and controlled such respected noncommunist Negro organizations as the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association could not be depended upon to rally these organizations behind the defense of the boys.(89)

The communist attack on the principles and policies of the NAACP soon caused its leaders to relinquish the legal defense of the case to the ILD. The victory of the ILD became complete when the parents of the condemned boys were persuaded by ILD officials to grant the ILD legal authority to represent the defendants. Upon the withdrawal of the NAACP from the case, the ILD took charge of the legal defense and remained the sole active agent until late 1934. (90) (91) (92)

The ILD embarked on a vigorous campaign. The Governor, the warden, and virtually every other Alabama state official even remotely connected with the case were deluged by letters, post cards, telegrams, radiograms, and cablegrams of protest from people in the United States and abroad. A cablegram appealing for clemency sent to the Governor of Alabama from Berlin was signed by Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann, the German writer. (93) (94) (95) (96) Millions of copies of pamphlets and leaflets were printed and circulated by the ILD; posters appeared in profusion; and vast quantities of penny seals and buttons bearing the slogan "Free the Scottsboro Boys" were distributed. (97) (98)

The communist press continually referred to the Scottsboro case as a "legal lynching" and a "frame-up" and called the defendants "children." (99) The amount of space allotted to the case in the Daily Worker was almost unbelievable. For several years, scarcely an issue failed to mention the latest development or to make some passing reference regarding the case.

Numerous demonstrations began to take place in the United States and abroad. In late June, 1931, for instance, a parade, sponsored by the ILD and another communist front called the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, * wound for several hours through the streets of Harlem. Placards carried by the marchers bore such legends as "Smash the Legal Lynchings of the Scottsboro Boys," "Death to Lynchers," and "Defend the Soviet Union." (100)

In Europe, German communist newspapers and front organizations made propaganda capital out of the Scottsboro convictions and incited mob attacks on American consulates in Dresden and Leipzig and on the American consulate general in Berlin. (101) (102) Red Help, a Swiss communist organization, organized a demonstration in July, 1931, in front of the American consulate in Geneva to protest. (103)

In the Spring of 1932, Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, in company with the national chairman of the ILD, commenced a six months' European tour. They visited and addressed audiences in 16 countries, including Soviet Russia, in an effort to generate foreign interest. The meetings at which they spoke were arranged by the International Red Aid. Often huge crowds attended these mass meetings. At one meeting in Berlin, 150,000 Germans filled the Lustgarten to hear Mrs. Wright. (104) (105) (106)

*See Appendix for citation.

During 1932, Scottsboro demonstrations were rampant in foreign countries. Violence flared up in Cuba when a mob of communists attacked a branch of the National City Bank of New York in Havana with stones and other missiles. Demonstrators carried red banners and voiced disapproval of the scheduled executions.(107) The building of The Havana Post, an English-language newspaper, was assaulted by about 30 persons displaying a red flag. Stones and other objects were thrown, and insulting remarks were uttered.(108)

Young workers demonstrated in front of the criminal court and the Ministry of Justice in Budapest, calling for intervention by the Hungarian Government in the Scottsboro case.(109) At Riga, Latvia, communists hurled a stone through a window of the American Legation. The stone was wrapped in a red flag on which was marked in Lettish "Protest against you executioners." It was signed by the Latvian Communist Party and the Latvian Labor Party.(110)

Eight young communists with blackened faces greeted the American minister to Austria in Vienna with jeers and threw a large stone wrapped in black cloth into his automobile.(111) German communist organizations bombarded the United States Embassy in Berlin with petitions protesting the proposed executions.(112) In Rio de Janeiro, police seized several men on charges of hurling blazing pitch balls from a speeding automobile into the American Embassy.(113)

In the Winter of 1932 and the Spring of 1933, both Washington, D. C., and New York City were the scenes of much Scottsboro campaign activity. Just before the United States Supreme Court ordered new trials for seven of the Scottsboro defendants in November, 1932, 100 demonstrators were driven off the plaza at the east front of the Capitol by police. Fourteen were arrested.(114)

In May, 1933, a march of 3,000 persons, headed by Ruby Bates, sought to have President Franklin D. Roosevelt and congressional leaders intervene to free the Scottsboro boys. Only a month before, Ruby Bates had recanted her previous testimony that she and Victoria Price had been raped. The marchers came from New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other eastern cities. As they marched, they chanted "Free the Scottsboro Boys" and sang the "Internationale" and similar revolutionary songs. When they were unable to see the President, they marched to the Capitol, where they called on Speaker Henry T. Rainey and Vice President John N. Garner.(115)

In New York City, Ruby Bates appeared at a protest rally at the St. Nicholas Arena attended by more than 5,000.(116) A Union Square meeting of 1,000 persons, called to protest the verdict, developed into a running fight with the police along Broadway, during which police were thrown to the ground and trampled.(117)

The Scottsboro case found expression on the stage in the Theatre Guild's production of John Wexley's play, "They Shall Not Die," which opened in February, 1934, in New York City. Wexley is reported to have been a member of the Communist Party for years. The play undertook to convince the audience that the defendants were "framed" by state and county officials who were as "vicious as they were ignorant."(118) (119)

The emotional approach was used in the campaign in connection with the exploitation of the mothers of the Negro youths. There were only five living mothers of the nine Scottsboro defendants, but more than five "mothers" were produced in various parts of the country at public gatherings from time to time.(120) The "mothers" of five of the boys, accompanied by Ruby Bates, called at the White House on Mother's Day, 1934, carrying with them a letter appealing to President Roosevelt to pardon their "sons."(121)

In the Fall of 1934, the American Scottsboro Committee was formed by a group of prominent noncommunist Negroes. Spokesmen pledged the organization would have nothing to do with communist lawyers.(122) By the latter part of 1935, with the ILD facing failure in its efforts to obtain the freedom of the defendants and with the new united-front line laid down by the Comintern, communists agreed to share the case with the NAACP and other organizations. The American Scottsboro Committee was disbanded. In its place, the Scottsboro Defense Committee* was established, comprised of representatives from such organizations as the ILD, the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Methodist Federation of Social Science, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others. The Scottsboro Defense Committee took over the legal defense, while the ILD continued its propaganda campaign.(123) (124) (125)

In the Summer of 1937, the Scottsboro Defense Committee managed to secure the release of four of the defendants and to reach an agreement with Alabama state officials that the others would be released in the due course of time.(126) The four released boys--Roy Wright, Olen Montgomery, Eugene Williams, and Willie Roberson--were taken to New York City, where they were given a noisy welcome, being cheered by 4, 500 persons as they stepped off the train.(127) The Scottsboro Defense Committee feted them at a mass meeting at the Hippodrome Theater. Later, they were exhibited at a huge street meeting held by the Communist Party in the Negro section of Brooklyn.(128) Arrangements were also made to have the four freed youths appear on the stage of a Harlem theater to re-enact the courtroom scene depicting their release.(129)

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*See Appendix for citation.

With the release of four of the Scottsboro boys, agitation and propaganda to secure the freedom of the five still in prison continued, although the campaign proceeded on a much reduced scale. The coming of World War II soon caused interest in the case to subside, and only the barest mention of the case appeared in the communist press. Between 1944 and 1946, four more defendants were paroled, and by then, the case was virtually a defunct issue.(130)

In 1949, a communist front called People's Drama* revived the play "They Shall Not Die," giving performances in New York City and in nearby New Jersey cities.(131) (132)

Communists resurrected the Scottsboro campaign in the Spring of 1950 in order to win a pardon for Andy Wright, the last defendant

*See Appendix for citation.

remaining in prison. The resuscitated campaign coincided with the publication of a book called Scottsboro Boy written by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad, (133) the latter long active in the communist movement. The book purports to be the story of Patterson's experiences while incarcerated in Alabama and an expose of the conditions to which Negro prisoners were subjected in Alabama jails and prison camps. The campaign reached its finale on June 6, 1950, when Wright was paroled. (134) (135)

To communists, the Scottsboro campaign was much more than a mere defense of nine hapless Negroes. The defendants were portrayed to the world as unwitting victims of racial prejudice and class exploitation which, as communists have always insisted, are ugly manifestions of the capitalist system. The Scottsboro case provided a stellar attraction by which communists could represent the Communist Party as the "champion" of the Negro people. It was the first big battle conducted by the Communist Party, USA, among Negroes and was used by them as a steppingstone to penetrate broad masses of the Negro people and to extend communist influence among them. (136) (137) (138)

In addition, the Scottsboro campaign proved to be a financial bonanza for the American communist movement. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised by the ILD, the Communist Party, and allied organizations.

It has been said that very little of the funds amassed went for the actual relief of the Scottsboro boys or for the relief of their parents, but that the bulk of the money collected was used for general Communist Party propaganda and activity.(139) (140)

3. Peace Campaign

The communist peace propaganda campaign, which has been waged for over a decade, differs from the Sacco-Vanzetti and the Scottsboro campaigns in that they began in the United States and were propagandized abroad. The peace campaign, on the other hand, started overseas and spread to this country. The peace campaign has been given top priority by every communist party in the entire world, including the Communist Party, USA.

The intense yearning of people everywhere for a true and lasting peace has furnished the international communist movement an issue which has momentous appeal and tremendous propaganda value. Needless to say, this powerful appeal has been exploited by communists to the fullest degree. Clergymen, scientists, women, and youth have been the main target groups for communist peace propaganda.

The real meaning of communist-style "peace," embellished with such slogans as "peaceful co-existence," "competitive co-existence," and "peaceful competition," is tactical. This tactic is merely a means to an end--world communism, not world peace. Their advocacy of peace permits communists to buy the time necessary to strengthen themselves and to consolidate their gains. The peace tactic is used by communists as a political soporific against the free world, so that a crushing blow can ultimately be delivered by communists without fear of reprisal. The tactic is designed to undermine and weaken all defense programs established by the free world for stemming the onrushing red tide.

The peace tactic is not a new weapon in the arsenal of communist deception and propaganda. It is a shrewd maneuver well-grounded in Marxism-Leninism. The tactical principle of peace was first advanced and theoretically sustained by V. I. Lenin.(141) That this tenet has been successfully applied by communists is evidenced by the fact that noncommunists generally believe that peace is indeed possible between two irreconcilable social, economic, and political systems. To communists, however, nothing could be further from the truth. It is a fundamental dogma of Marxism-Leninism that the "co-existence" of capitalism and communism can be only temporary, with a final conflict between these two systems inevitable.

Thus, the real objectives which underlie the communist peace propaganda theme are:

1. To buy time for building and consolidating world communism's strength for what is regarded by communist doctrine as an eventual showdown with the United States, the main bastion of world capitalism
2. To counter opposition to the communist goal of world conquest by disrupting Western alliances and neutralizing American military bases abroad
3. To expand world communism's capabilities within noncommunist countries for subversion, intelligence, and espionage

The propaganda role which American communists have played in implementing the Soviet peace tactic has several purposes:

1. To support Soviet foreign policy by bringing pressure to bear on United States Government officials and the American public to accede to Moscow's spurious offers of peace
2. To utilize the increased opportunities for "respectability" afforded by an ostensible desire for peace
3. To expand communism's influence and strength by application of the united-front tactic
4. To exploit psychologically the natural and idealistic instincts for peace which Americans have long possessed and manifested
5. To create a social mentality in the United States hostile to all internal security programs and national defense efforts

The communist peace campaign originated at the founding conference of the Cominform* in Poland in September, 1947. At this conference, the late Andrei Zhdanov, who was a delegate from the Soviet Union, first propounded the theory of division of the postwar world into two distinct camps--the camp of "war and imperialism" led by the United States and the camp of "peace and democracy" headed by the Soviet Union. Zhdanov claimed that the foreign policy of the United States aimed at the political and economic domination of the world and at eventual war against Russia. On the other hand, he alleged that the Soviet Union was attempting to preserve peace and that its foreign policy was based on the possibility of "co-existence," over a lengthy period, of capitalism and communism. (142)

The fourth conference of the Cominform, held in Hungary in November, 1949, claimed to detect an ever-increasing, universally popular sentiment for peace and instructed communist parties throughout the world to organize and rally people in a "united front for peace." The Cominform called for the establishment of peace committees, the signing of peace petitions, and the issuance of peace literature on a local, national, and international scale.

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*The Communist Information Bureau, generally called the Cominform, was formed in September, 1947, as the organization superseding the Comintern. The Cominform was dissolved in April, 1956, to give credence to the Soviet Union's propaganda line of "peaceful co-existence."

It also ordered communist parties everywhere to attempt to enlist the support of trade-unions and other organizations, as well as all segments of the population.(143)

The first Soviet-inspired international peace congress was the World Congress of Intellectuals* which was held in Wroclaw, Poland, in August, 1948, with 32 American delegates in attendance. A similar conference, staged under the name Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, * met in New York City in March, 1949. This meeting was sponsored by an American communist front organization known as the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. *(144)

Thereafter, the communist peace campaign gained momentum. In April, 1949, the World Congress of Partisans of Peace, * commonly known as the World Peace Congress, * convened in Paris, with another session in Prague, Czechoslovakia, made up of delegates barred by the French Government. Over 1,700 delegates from 72 countries, including the United States, were present.(145) A few months later, the American Continental Congress for Peace* was held in Mexico City. One hundred delegates attended from the United States.

*See Appendix for citation.

The peace campaign went into high gear in March, 1950, when the permanent committee of the World Peace Congress met in Stockholm, Sweden. Among the 120 delegates were several Americans. A decision was reached to initiate a world-wide drive for signatures to the so-called World Peace Appeal,* which has also been referred to variously as the Stockholm Appeal and the World Peace Pledge.(146)

Essentially, the World Peace Appeal called for outlawing of atomic weapons, strict international control to guarantee the ban, and condemning as war criminals the leaders of the first nation to use the atom bomb. The communist strategy behind this Appeal was based on the fundamental conceptions that American strategic war plans center around the use of nuclear bombs and that the contemplated use of nuclear weapons causes moral indignation among the politically independent and neutral nations of the world.

Communist planners of the signature drive hoped to achieve a double purpose: (1) to disarm the United States by forcing it, through propaganda pressure, to abandon its reliance on nuclear weapons, thereby giving to Soviet Russia a preponderance of conventional arms, and (2) in the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, to swing independent and neutral public opinion throughout the world to the side of the latter as the injured party.

*See Appendix for citation.

In its endeavor to secure the widest possible support for the World Peace Appeal, the World Peace Congress and its affiliates issued general and special appeals for signatures to trade-unions, church groups, intellectuals, professional and social groups, women's groups, and youth groups. The World Peace Appeal was commenced three months before the outbreak of the Korean War and, even though that conflict completely exposed the utter hypocrisy of the communist peace movement, the petitioning drive blatantly continued throughout the war.(147)

The Communist Party in the United States promptly threw its full support behind the signature campaign of the World Peace Appeal, pledging its entire resources and energies. Members were called upon to exert every effort to secure 5,000,000 signatures. The slogan "Every Party Member a Fighter for Peace" was adopted. A communist front organization known as the Peace Information Center (PIC)* was established to coordinate the signature drive. The signature campaign was publicly launched in this country at a "Unite for Peace" rally held by the PIC in New York City early in June, 1950. The principal speakers were the American delegates to the Stockholm meeting.

*See Appendix for citation.

Communists claimed that ultimately over 273,000,000 persons signed the World Peace Appeal and that, since only adults signed, it could be said that in all 600,000,000 persons--or a quarter of the world's population--endorsed the Appeal.(148) Most communist claims, of course, are greatly magnified, and it is undoubtedly true that the actual number of signatures obtained was considerably exaggerated in this case in order to create a bandwagon effect. The sobering fact remains, however, that millions upon millions of signatures actually were secured during the course of this campaign.

The international communist peace campaign has assumed different forms at various times and places, all calculated to conceal its communist origin and to evade legal prosecution.(149) The peace campaign has been likened to a "three-ring circus on a world scale, its talent traveling from country to country."(150) The object of such strategy has been to convey a sense of universality and to give the movement prestige and impetus in each country.(151) As we have already seen, the peace campaign originated in Poland. During the period 1948-1950, "international" or "hemispheric" peace congresses, conferences, and meetings of one sort or another were held in Poland, the United States, France, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and Sweden.

The second World Peace Congress was scheduled to convene in Sheffield, England, in November, 1950, but, because many of the foreign delegates were refused admission to Britain, it was moved to Warsaw. Sixty-three American delegates and observers were present at the Warsaw (152) meeting. Other peace congresses were held in Vienna in December, 1952, and in Helsinki, Finland, in June, 1955. Montevideo, Uruguay, was the site of the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in March, 1952.

The peace campaign in the United States has been propagandized chiefly through a score of national peace front organizations and a host of local fronts which have sprung up like mushrooms since 1950. The first of these was the Peace Information Center.* Its activities centered around the signature campaign of the World Peace Appeal through the distribution of leaflets, bulletins, "fact sheets," "peacegrams," petitions, posters, stamps, buttons, and similar material designed to publicize the World Peace Appeal and to insure the success of the signature campaign. When the PIC was indicted by a Federal grand jury in January, 1951, for failure to register as a foreign agent, it went out of existence.

The American Peace Crusade (APC)* supplanted the PIC as the most important national peace front. Almost immediately, the APC

*See Appendix for citation.

sponsored a "Peace Pilgrimage" to Washington, D. C., consisting of 2,500 delegates from 40 states. The APC went on record as favoring world-wide disarmament and admission of communist China to the United Nations, and opposing continuation of the Korean War, rearmament of Germany and Japan, and universal military training.

Numerous state, regional, and local peace fronts became affiliated with the APC, among them such organizations as the New York Peace Council, the Atlanta Peace Council, the Wisconsin Council for Peace, the Albuquerque Peace Advocates, and the Southern California Peace Crusade. * Through their publications and activities, the APC and its affiliates agitated and propagandized for "peaceful co-existence," international disarmament, banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs, peaceful use of atomic energy, East-West trade, a unified and disarmed Germany, nonintervention in Indochina, peaceful negotiations between the great powers, and defeat of universal military training.

The APC was responsible for a number of communications campaigns directed at Government officials in Washington. In 1953, for example, the APC launched a nationwide campaign to send Christmas cards to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Senators, and Congressmen urging them to open the door to peace by calling a conference of the big powers.

*See Appendix for citation.

Delegations to Congress and to the United Nations occupied an important role in the activities of the APC. At a "Lobby for Peace" in Washington, D. C., in June, 1953, on the third anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War, individuals who attended made it a point to visit Congressmen to advocate a prompt truce in Korea and a summit meeting of the leaders of the major powers to achieve permanent peace. The Southern California Peace Crusade disseminated petitions, presented to the United Nations in 1955 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its founding, demanding that atomic war be outlawed and that hydrogen bomb experiments be ended.

All types of documents were circulated by the APC, including "peace scrolls," "peace ballots," "Peace and Friendship Books," and a "National Peace Referendum." (153) "Peace ballots" distributed early in 1954 allegedly indicated that the signers were in favor of all nations banning nuclear bombs, expanding trade between nations in order to foster pacific relations, and settling international disputes through peaceful negotiations by the big powers.

The APC resorted to many unusual propaganda displays. An APC affiliate in Philadelphia held a baby-carriage parade in the Spring of

1952, during which mothers passed out peace leaflets and solicited signatures on cards directed to President Harry S. Truman. The cards urged peace talks among the major nations. The American Youth Peace Crusade,* the youth division of the APC, conducted a peace poll on a busy downtown street corner in Rochester, New York, during the Korean War. It was claimed that 137 of the 150 persons polled were in favor of a cease-fire in Korea.(154)

Peace fronts were created to appeal to all possible propaganda target groups. Among them was the National Labor Conference for Peace (NLCP),* which sought to enlist the support of trade-union leaders and members. The "peace-loving" proclivities of communist "peace fighters" were clearly demonstrated in August, 1950, when a near riot ensued in Union Square in New York City during a rally sponsored by an affiliate of the NLCP called the New York Labor Conference for Peace. Huge crowds gathered and started marching around Union Square, chanting "We Want Peace, Pull Out of Korea, We Want Peace." Six persons were arrested in the melee, and about 500 patrolmen, detectives, and mounted police were required to maintain law and order.

Two other active communist peace fronts were the American Women for Peace (AWP)* and the American Veterans for Peace (AVP).*

*See Appendix for citation.

Propaganda activities carried on by these organizations included letter and telegram campaigns to the President and to Congress, as well as delegations to Government officials and to the United Nations. In August, 1950, nearly a thousand women engaged in an AWP-sponsored pilgrimage to Washington, D. C., to plead for peaceful mediation of the Korean War and for outlawing the atom and hydrogen bombs by the United States. Participants took a "peace walk" in two's around the White House. (155)

A religious motif was adopted by a reported front called the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action which held three simultaneous "prayer vigils for peace" in New York City in October, 1951, under the auspices of 28 Protestant and Jewish leaders. A "family prayer" invoked at these rallies asked that the President bend his efforts toward an end to hostilities in Korea as a "prelude to peace on earth." (156)

After the Korean War, communist peace propaganda began to highlight the destructiveness and horror of nuclear weapons, the alleged world-wide resentment against United States threats to use them, the "untiring" efforts of the Soviet Union to prohibit them, the impossibility of adequate civil defense measures, and the dangers to health from fall-out. Coupled with these were an attack on universal military training, a plea for recognition of communist China, and a request for the resumption of East-West trade. Communist propagandists kept up a steady drumfire that "peaceful co-existence" is the only alternative to "no existence."

Communists have fully exploited the public controversy of the last few years arising from the hazards of radiation fall-out. Although many sincere and able American scientists have been concerned about the effect of fall-out, they believe that the nuclear tests that the United States has been conducting have been essential to the defense of this country, the risk being deemed necessary from the standpoint of our national security. Precisely because the tests are in this Nation's vital interest, communist propagandists have sought to magnify the danger of fall-out to an alarming degree. (157)

Much of the communist agitation and propaganda on the fall-out issue has stemmed from an international communist front organization called the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW).* In 1956, the WFSW prepared and published a 40-page booklet entitled Unmeasured Hazards, which specifically discussed the harmful effects of radiation fall-out. The booklet was published in half a dozen languages, including English. It was distributed in this country by the American Association of Scientific Workers, which maintains fraternal ties with the WFSW.

*See Appendix for citation.

In January, 1958, the Communist Party, USA, gave much publicity to a petition presented to Dag Hammarskjold, secretary general of the United Nations. The petition, signed by more than 9,000 scientists from 43 countries, asked an immediate halt to nuclear bomb tests by international agreement on the grounds that to continue them would endanger the human race because of fall-out. The petition was compiled and presented by Dr. Linus C. Pauling, of the California Institute of Technology, who won the Nobel prize in chemistry in 1954.(158) Dr. Pauling has an extensive record of communist front activity. A number of the individuals in the United States and abroad who signed the petition have similar records.

A short time later, The New York Times printed a half-page advertisement carrying the text of letters which Corliss Lamont and his wife, both long-time Soviet apologists, had sent to President Eisenhower and to former Soviet Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin. The letters, in almost identical language, urged that each take unilateral action to stop further nuclear tests for at least one year. The Lamonts suggested that unilateral suspension of nuclear explosions by either country would prove a stimulus to the abolition of nuclear weapons altogether.(159)

Communist peace propaganda in the United States at present continues to stress the themes of "peaceful co-existence" and the abolition of nuclear-weapons tests. The Communist Party lends its support to and actively participates in the activities of various noncommunist organizations which, for reasons of their own, also seek to ban the testing of nuclear weapons. Communist propaganda calls for the demilitarization of Berlin as the first step in the peaceful settlement of the cold war and insists that a summit meeting is necessary to resolve world tension.

The communist peace campaign shows no signs of diminishing in intensity or volume, and it will doubtless continue to be used by communists and their sympathizers to implement Soviet foreign policy and to advance the cause of communism.

4. Rosenberg-Sobell Campaign

The Rosenberg-Sobell campaign is the story of a campaign which was slow getting started but eventually equalled in volume and intensity each of the three big communist campaigns already described. Like the Sacco-Vanzetti and Scottsboro campaigns, the Rosenberg-Sobell campaign provoked legal controversy reaching up to the highest court in the land. Similarly, communists the world over exploited the issue as a propaganda weapon against the United States.

In the Summer of 1950, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were arrested by the FBI on the charge of committing espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. Their arrests ultimately led to a communist propaganda campaign of titanic proportions.

Following their conviction in Federal Court in New York City in March, 1951, the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and Sobell, to 30 years' imprisonment. After a series of stays of execution and a rejection by President Eisenhower of an appeal for Executive clemency, the Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953, in Sing Sing Prison in New York.

The trial of the Rosenbergs, which began early in March, 1951, received little publicity in the communist press, because the trial involved individuals with whom the Communist Party, USA, did not desire to be linked at that time. The legal proceedings were permitted to run their course until it became apparent that the legal remedies had been virtually exhausted.

Communist propaganda interest and efforts were first exhibited in August, 1951, when a series of seven articles on the Rosenberg case commenced in the National Guardian, * a self-styled "progressive" weekly

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*See Appendix for citation.

published in New York City. In summary, the articles condemned the Rosenberg trial and convictions as a "political frameup" based on collusion with a "self-confessed spy" and "stool pigeon" (David Greenglass). The articles depicted the Rosenbergs as "innocent victims" of "hysteria" and "fear" sedulously cultivated by the United States Government. (160) (161) (162) (163) (164) (165) (166)

On the completion of this series of articles in October, 1951, the National Guardian announced the formation of a committee to give national publicity to the "facts" of the case, as well as to raise funds for legal appeals on behalf of the Rosenbergs. (167)

The establishment of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case* (hereinafter, for the sake of brevity, called the Rosenberg Committee) was formally announced early in January, 1952. Shortly thereafter, the Communist Party, which had remained largely in the background during all this preliminary propaganda activity, joined the campaign. A little later, the Party's legal arm, the Civil Rights Congress,* issued a press release calling for nationwide support of the Rosenbergs.

National headquarters of the Rosenberg Committee were established in New York City. Branches soon sprang up in major cities, finally numbering over 40 affiliates in addition to hundreds of community committees. In the

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*See Appendix for citation.

New York City area alone, there were eventually 24 community units. At its peak, the Rosenberg Committee had nearly a dozen full-time employees in its national office, plus salaried employees in Chicago and in several other large cities.

Besides its own affiliates, the Rosenberg Committee received active support from such communist front organizations as the Civil Rights Congress, the International Workers Order,* and the Labor Youth League;* from a number of communist-led labor unions; and from various divisions of the Communist Party itself.

The Rosenberg campaign had six paramount aims: (1) to bring about a reversal of the verdicts against the Rosenbergs or to have their death sentences commuted to prison terms; (2) to discredit American courts and judicial procedures and hence cast doubt on all investigations and convictions of communists and Soviet espionage agents; (3) to vilify the United States and all its institutions; (4) to intensify and mobilize anti-American feeling throughout the world; (5) to sustain the illusion that the Communist Party, USA, is the "champion" of the Jewish people, while simultaneously diverting attention from the anti-Semitism which has long been evidenced in Soviet Russia and its satellites; and (6) to obscure the fact that the Rosenberg trial offered damning evidence of the Communist Party's own deep involvement in Soviet espionage in the United States.

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*See Appendix for citation.

Communist propagandists carefully studied all aspects of the Rosenberg case in order to exploit every phase of it. No propaganda target group was ignored; no channel of propaganda was neglected; no trick of demagogy was omitted; and no possible "promotion" angle was overlooked.

The campaign was craftily contrived to appeal to communists and noncommunists alike. A heavy barrage of propaganda was directed toward such noncommunist target groups as trade-unionists, clergymen, minorities (particularly Jews), intellectuals, youth, and women.

Communist propagandists compared the Rosenberg case with the trial of Jesus, the Spanish Inquisition, the Salem witch hunts, the Alfred Dreyfus case in France, and the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Daily Worker termed the Rosenberg case a "ghastly political frameup" which was "arranged to provide blood victims to the witch hunters, to open the door to new violence, anti-Semitism, and court lynchings of peace advocates and Marxists as 'spies.' "(168)

From the time the Rosenberg Committee was organized until the Fall of 1952, the campaign consisted principally of the distribution of literature and activities on a local scale. Committee organizers traveled around the country to aid local units in raising funds, disseminating propaganda, and endeavoring to bring the case to the attention of the American people. In October, 1952, for the first time, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case and henceforth the campaign was accelerated.

Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, leaflets, brochures, newsletters, "fact sheets," financial appeals, and posters were circulated. The official court transcript of the trial was sold at six dollars a copy.

Press conferences and radio and television interviews with Rosenberg Committee officials were arranged; radio broadcast time was purchased; advertisements were placed in influential newspapers; and letters were written to the editors of these newspapers.

Countless demonstrations took place, including open-air rallies, indoor mass meetings, picketing of public buildings, and similar activities. Delegations were organized to meet with Congressmen and Senators. Each Senator and many members of Congress were supplied with transcripts of the trial, as well as with other literature.

At "Save the Rosenbergs" rallies, persons attending were handed telegrams, post cards, or letters. These communications contained mimeographed messages requesting clemency and were addressed to the President. In addition, Rosenberg Committee representatives conducted intensive house-to-house canvasses, particularly in Jewish neighborhoods, in an effort to obtain signatures for clemency petitions.

During the Rosenberg campaign, thousands of signatures were solicited for clemency petitions and appeals of one kind or another. A large number of clergymen, some of whom had long records of procommunist activity, were among the clemency advocates. The Rosenberg Committee scored several notable propaganda successes in exploiting prominent personalities, for among those urging clemency for the Rosenbergs were such well-known figures as Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey, the latter a onetime Nobel prize winner in chemistry.(169) (170)

The communist press strove to create the impression of national and international "indignation" and "shock" at the Rosenberg trial and verdict. The Daily Worker, for instance, headlined a typical Rosenberg propaganda story, "Millions Have Asked Freedom for Rosenbergs." The article clearly implied that millions of persons in the United States and all over the world demanded acquittal in the belief that the Rosenbergs were innocent.(171)

This, of course, was not true. To begin with, the word "millions" was pure imagination and could only be arrived at by a familiar communist device which credits the endorsement of the entire membership of an organization merely because one officer of that group indicates his support. Secondly, the majority of clemency signers did not advocate "freedom," nor even suggest that the Rosenbergs were innocent, but merely urged a commutation of the death sentence.

From its inception, the clemency drive on behalf of the Rosenbergs was a highly artificial and skilfully promoted affair, rather than a spontaneous public reaction as the communist press was wont to show. No lie or distortion was too flagrant for communist propagandists to use in their campaign. In December, 1952, for example, Pope Pius XII notified the Department of Justice in routine fashion, through Catholic Church channels in Washington, D. C., that the Vatican had received numerous and urgent appeals for clemency on behalf of the Rosenbergs. The communist press immediately flashed the news to the world that the Pope had "personally interceded" with a plea for clemency.(172)

A few days before Christmas, 1952, some 1,000 persons in New York City boarded a "Clemency Train," sponsored by the Civil Rights

Congress, for Ossining, New York, where they took part in a demonstration outside Sing Sing Prison, in which the Rosenbergs were incarcerated. Although barred from holding this meeting directly at the prison gates as originally planned, the demonstrators were permitted to send a delegation of six persons to the prison walls to deliver messages and greetings to the Rosenbergs. The delegation brought with them a huge bouquet of flowers bearing the inscription "To Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, From the People." (173)

Some of the more spectacular activities of the Rosenberg Committee occurred during the periods December 27, 1952-January 17, 1953, and February 14-23, 1953, when round-the-clock "vigils" were maintained at the White House in an effort to pressure President Truman into acting favorably on a plea of Executive clemency. The climax was reached when more than 2,000 persons from 22 states arrived at the Nation's capital to take part.

Hardly an issue of the *Daily Worker* appeared without at least one or more articles dealing with the case. Besides the constant stream of propaganda in the *Daily Worker*, the *Daily People's World** and other communist and procommunist publications joined in the propaganda parade. A number of highly literary statements, letters, and poems attributed to

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**The Daily People's World* was a west coast communist daily newspaper which became a weekly in February, 1957.

the Rosenbergs--especially Ethel--were published in various communist publications and were distributed by the Rosenberg Committee.

The Rosenberg campaign assumed international ramifications early in 1953 when communists abroad took up the battle cry. In January, 1953, 75 persons picketed the American consulate general in Toronto, carrying placards, one reading "Remember Sacco and Vanzetti." A delegation of five later presented a clemency appeal to the consul general with the request that it be forwarded to the President. A few days later, and again the following month, pickets displayed "Save the Rosenbergs" posters in front of the American Embassy in Ottawa, the leader of this group presenting a petition to an embassy official. In February, 1953, the American Embassy in Montevideo received a number of telegrams requesting clemency. A delegation of 73 artists and another of 37 trade-union officials visited the American Embassy in Stockholm to protest the death sentences given the Rosenbergs.(174)

Communist front organizations in foreign countries likewise became extremely active. A communist front in Canada sponsored a radio program in Toronto in January, 1953, called "They Must Not Die." Two Belgian communist front groups dispatched telegrams to the

American consul general in Antwerp requesting clemency. An international communist front known as the Women's International Democratic Federation* sent a telegram, supposedly in the name of 135,000,000 women in 65 countries, to President Eisenhower demanding clemency and the consideration of new evidence.(175) Trade-unions in Cuba and prominent individuals and organizations in Argentina similarly appealed to the President.(176)

The campaign in France was directed primarily through a communist front known as the French Committee for the Defense of the Rosenbergs. This committee distributed 30,000 copies of a brochure entitled "A New Dreyfus Affair--the Rosenberg Affair", 150,000 copies of a pamphlet called "The Lovers of Liberty"; and 30,000 copies of Ethel Rosenberg's first appeal for clemency.(177)

As might be expected, communist propagandists lost no opportunity in exploiting various emotional angles which might gain sympathy for the Rosenbergs, at the same time obscuring the real issue involved. Appeals to the emotions were undertaken in a variety of ways. Propaganda on behalf of the Rosenbergs consistently emphasized the fact that the convicted couple were the parents of two minor sons, Michael, aged ten, and Robert, aged six. Propaganda also heavily dramatized and exploited the relationship between the convicted couple and their own parents, particularly Julius' mother,

*See Appendix for citation.

Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, affectionately referred to in the communist press as "Mama" and "Mother" Rosenberg.

Considerable emotional capital was also made out of the marital status of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were frequently portrayed as a "heroic couple" bravely upholding each other's courage and innocence in spite of the most vicious intimidation and persecution.

Communist propagandists, fully aware of the natural aversion which many people feel toward capital punishment, were not above playing upon this sentiment. Morbid reference was made to the Rosenbergs' "charred bodies" and "seared flesh" in the event the death sentence should be carried out.

Communist propaganda, for all its uproar against the United States Government, tried to invoke a note of patriotism on occasion. The Rosenberg sentence was called a "crime against the American people." To underline this motif, rallies sponsored by the Rosenberg Committee even solemnly opened with the playing of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The final, feverish days of the campaign began after the United States Supreme Court, late in May, 1953, refused for the third time to review the case. The Communist Party, USA, thereupon issued a statement appealing to "every progressive, to every member of the working class and people's organizations, to view it as his most sacred of all obligations in these hours to plunge fully into the peoples fight to save the Rosenbergs." The Party beseeched people to write or wire the President--and to persuade their friends, neighbors, and co-workers to do likewise--to commute the death sentence; to collect signatures to clemency appeals; and to organize and support delegations to visit national, state, and local public officials to bring about a reversal of the death sentence. (178)

A week before the execution, Dr. Harold C. Urey sent a telegram to President Eisenhower in which he insisted that the Rosenbergs had been convicted on perjured testimony. (179) Several days later, four prominent clergymen met with the President and presented him a plea for clemency. (180)

On June 14, the Rosenberg Committee resumed its picket line around the White House with the arrival in Washington of two special trains from New York City carrying 2,000 persons. The two Rosenberg children and Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, the mother of Julius, presented a letter for the President to White House attendants. After holding a "prayer" meeting in the vicinity of the Department of Justice building, most of the pickets returned to New York City. A token picket line was maintained around the White House through noon of June 18, when it was augmented by two more special trains from New York City bringing nearly 2,700 persons. In the afternoon of June 19--the day of the execution--a rumor was circulated among the demonstrators that Queen Elizabeth of England had expressed her concern over the scheduled execution.

As the hour of execution drew near, communist agitators and propagandists made the most of the drama. Well-planned demonstrations took place in this country and in Europe. In New York City, 5,000 jammed the streets near Union Square to listen to speeches by prominent communist leaders and sympathizers. In Boston, a minister led pro-Rosenberg picketing in front of the Massachusetts capitol.

In Paris, one youth was shot and 400 persons were arrested as large bands of demonstrators clashed with a heavy police force guarding the United States Embassy and its approaches. In London, a delegation representing the National Rosenberg Defense Committee went to Chartwell, the country home of the then Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, in a vain attempt to have him intercede with President Eisenhower. More than a thousand men and women marched from Hyde Park to the heart of London. At one point, some of the demonstrators lay down in the street, chanting "Save the Rosenbergs" and causing a traffic tie-up.

After news was received that the Rosenbergs had been executed, communists in London waved copies of the Daily Worker, a British communist newspaper, emblazoned with the one-word headline, "Murder." In Dublin, Ireland, agitators reacted by tossing two bottles of kerosene through an office window of the United States Information Service. In Turin, Italy, 2,000 pro-Rosenberg demonstrators were dispersed by the police. In Rome, a 15-minute work stoppage to protest the execution was called by communist-led trade-unions. Three hundred communists picketed the United States consulate in Milan, Italy, through the night.

In Canada, there were demonstrations in Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Four hundred Rosenberg sympathizers in Toronto reacted to the news of the execution by shouting "Shame!" and "Murderers!" Pickets, who had gathered outside the United States consulate, switched suddenly from placards urging clemency to signs promising care for the two Rosenberg sons. In Vancouver, 75 persons picketed the United States consulate.

In Washington, 7,000 assembled in Lafayette Park, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. After word came of the execution, Morton Sobell's wife, Helen, read a statement to reporters in which she said that "two lives have been taken" and "our nation's security is not greater for it."

Within 15 minutes after the announcement that the Rosenbergs were dead, the pickets in front of the White House had departed, leaving their discarded placards piled high. (181)

At the funeral of the Rosenbergs in Brooklyn, 10,000 persons gathered outside the funeral chapel in searing 93-degree heat. Three chartered buses and 300 private automobiles joined in the funeral procession that led to the Long Island cemetery where the bodies of the Rosenbergs were interred. (182)

On the day following the funeral, the Daily Worker, its front page bordered in black, devoted almost the entire issue to accounts of the execution and funeral. The Communist Party, USA, in a statement, solemnly declared that "Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were brutally murdered in an act of fascist violence by a ruling class that is desperate, in the face of the rising forces of peace and democracy. . . . The Rosenbergs died innocent--heroes of democracy." (183)

The execution of the Rosenbergs did not end the campaign. Almost immediately, the Rosenberg Committee announced its intention to continue its fight until the Rosenbergs had been "fully vindicated." In October, 1953, at a national conference in Chicago, the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case was formally reconstituted as the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee, * and later as the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell* (henceforth referred to as the Sobell Committee, for brevity). Morton Sobell's wife Helen is president of this committee, which maintains national headquarters in New York City and has adjunct committees in more than a half-dozen cities throughout the United States.

Today, while the committee still strives to "vindicate" the Rosenbergs, this phase of its activity is only incidental to its work on behalf of Sobell. Its principal objectives have been (1) to seek a Presidential pardon, commutation of sentence, or a new trial and (2) to secure his transfer from the Federal Penitentiary at Alcatraz Island, California. Since Sobell was transferred from Alcatraz to the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, early in 1958, the Sobell Committee is now concentrating on the first aim.

The Sobell Committee's main activities have continued along the same lines as those conducted prior to the Rosenbergs' execution--sponsoring rallies, meetings, conferences, dinners, luncheons, and parties; collecting signatures to appeals and petitions; and issuing various types of literature. As president of the Sobell Committee, Mrs. Sobell makes frequent trips to all

*See Appendix for citation.

sections of the country. In the Summer of 1958, she spent a month in Mexico.

Every year since the death of the Rosenbergs, the Sobell Committee has made a ritual of observing, on or about June 19, their execution. In 1955, for instance, nearly 3,000 persons attended a memorial meeting in Carnegie Hall in N[illegible]rk City. On the stage were life-size portraits of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, with a half-dozen empty vases in front of those of the Rosenbergs. Each person entering the hall was given a red rose. Later, to the accompaniment of music, everyone filed onto the stage and placed the roses in the vases.

On the fifth anniversary of the execution, the Sobell Committee designated the first two weeks of June, 1958, as a "Freedom Fortnight for Morton Sobell." The committee asked supporters to solicit signatures for petitions to the President requesting an Executive pardon or commutation of sentence for Sobell. On the anniversary of the day of the Rosenbergs' execution, 40 "mourners" gathered at their graves where they listened to a speech, poetry, and prayers as red roses were strewn over the two mounds. (184) (185)

The Sobell Committee has distributed vast quantities of literature. In addition to leaflets, pamphlets, booklets and books, a complete transcript (186) of the trial has been printed and 2,000 copies distributed.

The first book to appear, Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, contained letters purportedly written by the Rosenbergs between July, 1950, and March, 1953. Several volumes of poems have been issued, the latest one being a book by Helen Sobell called You Who Love Life. (187)

Three books have been published containing "incontrovertible proof" that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were "innocent" and had been "framed," that the witnesses used against them had been "guilty of perjury," and that the trial judge had "deliberately misconducted" the trial. (188) A thousand complimentary copies of one book, The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were sent to prominent Government officials, Senators, Congressmen, professors, attorneys, labor leaders, and newspaper editors. The author of this book, John Wexley, has previously been identified as having written the play, "They Shall Not Die," during the Scottsboro campaign.

Hundreds of advertisements totaling thousands of lines have appeared in important and influential noncommunist newspapers all over the country since the campaign began. For example, the Sobell Committee placed a quarter-page advertisement in The Evening Star in Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1954, to commemorate the Rosenbergs, executed the year before.(189)

Other propaganda media which have been used in the campaign include a filmstrip with a recorded commentary entitled "Was Justice Done?" and a long-playing phonograph record called "The Rock." The latter consists of dramatic episodes relating to Sobell's arrest and trial, excerpts from letters written by Sobell to his wife, and parts of testimony given during his trial.(190)

Television supplied a propaganda outlet for Helen Sobell when she was interviewed in October, 1957, on a program known as "Nightbeat," originating in New York City. Mrs. Sobell vehemently denied that her husband had betrayed his country, and she predicted that eventually he would be vindicated, freed, and honored.(191)

Testimonials by prominent people continue to be a propaganda device widely employed by the Sobell Committee. Early in 1957, a plea, signed by 165 Americans, including 50 rabbis, 35 ministers, and 35 professors, was sent to President Eisenhower asking for a new trial or an Executive pardon or commutation of sentence for Sobell.(192)

In order to propagandize the international "interest" in the campaign, Mrs. Sobell has periodically made public a number of letters she claims to have received from European sources protesting her husband's incarceration. These communications have been forwarded to Mrs. Sobell by communist fronts, by communist-dominated labor groups, and by educators, writers, and attorneys.

In the Spring of 1956, considerable publicity was given to a series of letters pertaining to the Rosenberg trial that Bertrand Russell, eminent English philosopher and mathematician, had written to the editor of the Manchester Guardian, an influential British newspaper. Russell said that at the time he did not look into the evidence, but since he had examined it, he concluded that the "evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved." Russell stated that while it was too late to help the Rosenbergs, now that they were dead, it was not too late for the United States Government to make some "reparations" to Sobell.(193)

It was inevitable that the Sobell Committee should send a representative to Europe to keep the propaganda pot boiling. In the Spring of 1956, Morton Sobell's mother, Mrs. Rose Sobell, made a three months' trip to England, France, and Italy where she raised funds by appearing at rallies held under the auspices of communist front groups.(194)

Communist propagandists have continued to exploit the reputations of prominent people. As an illustration of this, Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, former Mexican minister of education and now senior law professor at the University of Mexico, was persuaded to appear before the United States Court of Appeals in New York City in March, 1957, to argue Sobell's case.

As indicated previously, vast quantities of printed propaganda material have been disseminated by the Rosenberg and Sobell Committees. In the period between November, 1951, and October, 1953, for instance, approximately 6,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets, about 500,000 petitions and post cards, and thousands of form letters were printed and distributed. At the same time, some 250 separate advertisements totaling 40,000 lines were printed in various newspapers throughout the United States.

Similarly, an enormous amount of funds has been collected. To date, probably close to $1,000,000 has been raised by the national organizations, branches, and community committees of the Rosenberg and Sobell Committees, by other communist front organizations, by communist-controlled labor unions, and by various units of the Communist Party. The Chicago branch of the Rosenberg Committee alone raised $29,000 from June, 1952, to July, 1953. The Sobell Committee set a minimum budget of $100,000 for 1958.

Only a relatively small amount of the money amassed by the Rosenberg and Sobell Committees has been necessary to defray legal and operating expenses. The Communist Party is reported to have used the Rosenberg-Sobell campaign as a convenient cover for soliciting funds destined for its own treasury. Hence, a substantial portion of the funds ostensibly collected for the Rosenbergs and Sobell undoubtedly has been diverted to the Communist Party for its own organizational, political, and propaganda activities.

Funds are being obtained from such multiple and diverse sources as contributions; the sale of literature; and the sale of tickets to and collections made at meetings, theater parties, raffles, picnics, boat rides, art exhibits, dinners, and luncheons. For example, a testimonial dinner given in honor of Dr. Harold C. Urey in Chicago in February, 1955, held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, raised $11,000 for the Sobell Committee.

In the Fall of 1953, a trust fund was created ostensibly to provide maintenance, support, education, and other necessities for the two Rosenberg sons. Nearly $49,000 was collected in nine months' time.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell were afforded every possible protection of their rights under the American legal system. For more than two years, counsel for the Rosenbergs was successful in gaining five different stays of execution while every legal resource was exhausted in an effort to obtain a new trial or have the death sentence commuted. Motions were entered asking for new trials for the Rosenbergs and Sobell on the grounds of new evidence, prejudicial conduct on the part of the trial judge, misconduct by the prosecution, and a variety of other legal grounds, many of them based upon the flimsiest technicalities.

The case was presented to the United States Court of Appeals and came before the United States Supreme Court on a number of occasions. Each time, however, the higher courts refused to consider a new trial or to reverse the verdict. Meanwhile, clemency petitions and appeals were submitted repeatedly to the trial judge and to the White House, all of which were rejected.

Officials of the Sobell Committee see little hope in further legal action to gain the release of Sobell from prison. Instead, they are now concentrating on bringing pressure to bear on President Eisenhower to grant him Executive clemency or commute his sentence.

It can be said that through the Sacco-Vanzetti, Scottsboro, peace, and Rosenberg-Sobell campaigns particularly, communist propagandists have been undeniably successful in achieving the purpose of all communist campaigns--that of reaching, influencing, and activating people for desired communist ends. It is no exaggeration to say that the Communist Party, USA, through these four celebrated campaigns, as well as through its countless other campaigns over the years, has been able to materially advance the cause of communism and the welfare of the Soviet Union. In the future communist propaganda program in the United States, campaigns can be expected to occupy a part as important as in the past.

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APPENDIX

Organizations listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by congressional or state committees.

Those designated by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization.

Those cited by congressional or state committees are listed in the *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities in the United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on January 2, 1957. They have been identified with the page number of the *Guide* following the name of the organization.

American Continental Congress for Peace (*Guide*, p. 9)
American Peace Crusade (Executive Order 10450)
American Veterans for Peace (*Guide*, p. 18)
American Women for Peace (Executive Order 10450)
American Youth Peace Crusade (*Guide*, p. 20)
Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)
Industrial Workers of the World (Executive Order 10450)

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International Labor Defense (Executive Order 10450)

International Workers Order (Executive Order 10450)

Labor Youth League (Executive Order 10450)

League of Struggle for Negro Rights (Guide, p. 53)

National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (Guide, p. 60)

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (Guide, p. 60)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Guide, p. 61)

National Guardian (Guide, p. 105)

National Labor Conference for Peace (Executive Order 10450)

National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee (Guide, p. 66)

Peace Information Center (Executive Order 10450)

People's Drama (Executive Order 10450)

People's Rights Party (Executive Order 10450)

Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (Guide, p. 79)

Scottsboro Defense Committee (Guide, p. 79)

Southern California Peace Crusade (Guide, p. 80)

Women's International Democratic Federation (Guide, p. 91)

World Congress of Intellectuals (Guide, p. 94)

World Congress of Partisans of Peace (Guide, p. 94)

World Federation of Scientific Workers (*Guide*, p. 95)

World Peace Appeal (*Guide*, p. 95)

World Peace Congress (*Guide*, p. 96)

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